

THE LABOUR ORGANISER

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PREPARATION FOR THE GENERAL ELECTION

Article 3.

Copies of the Register.

IT is now a virtual certainty that the General Election will take place on the register which comes into force on October 15th, notwithstanding a damp squib let off by the "Daily Express" some days ago, to the effect that the "organisers of all Parties" had been warned that a September election was now certain.

In every election several copies of the register are required for use. Where copies printed on one side only are obtainable considerable economy is effected, and now is the time to order such copies, for it is unlikely they will be obtainable at a later stage.

The number of registers used in an election depends mainly on the funds available or the degree of economy necessary. One complete set is of course necessary for the agent's personal use; another must be divided among the local Committee Rooms so that each area committee has its appropriate register. We have known "the writing up" and the canvass, plus the polling day arrangements to be carried through on these two sets of registers only. Heaven forbid, however, that we should advise it. On the other hand we have known no less than four (double-sided) registers to be consumed in the process of writing up, checking and bundling; which was an extravagance.

Normally, a complete set of registers is wanted for the Central Office and another set should be available there for sundry writing up (semi-personal messages, etc.). A third set will be required for envelope writing; a fourth for Committee Room use throughout the Division, and a fifth set for canvass purposes (i.e., "writing up" canvass cards, or pasting).

These five copies are a minimum

for a well-fought election. Generally one or two extra sets will be required according to the general plan of campaign adopted. The ideal is of course to have, in addition to sets for special uses, a complete register for reference in every Committee Room, or in as many as possible.

If all the above copies are to be purchased the bill will be a heavy one. A knowledge of how to get free copies of the register and of the right sort, is important, remembering that one register printed on one side of the paper is in practice equal in value to two registers printed both sides the paper. The cost of a one-sided register is little more than half that of two double-sided registers. Any novice knows its additional value in use.

A Home Office instruction, dated August 10th, 1921 (issued as R.P. Circular 93) contained details as to the free supply of registers to political agents. Under this authority two free copies of the register are supplied to recognised agents immediately after publication (i.e., 15th October). If the agent gives notice to the *Registration Officer*, he can claim that these two copies be supplied printed one side only. In addition he may, by giving notice, secure an additional one-sided register by paying the ordinary charge. By paying a slight additional charge the agent may obtain as many one-sided copies of the register as he desires.

The agent who for the coming election is unable to foresee his wants and order ahead must be a rather stupid fellow and must be blamed for the purchase of two-sided registers later on.

In this connection it is as well to bear in mind that candidates at a Parliamentary election, under a Treasury Order, are supplied with a free copy of the register, but often

such copy is not supplied until the day of nomination.

It will be seen from all the above that the supply of free copies of the register is limited to *the recognised agents* of political Parties (not necessarily paid agents). Many registration officers take a wide view of this authority and supply the registers to the Secretaries of each Divisional Party organisation. It may be that in some areas where this practice is not in force an election agent has been appointed to assume duties at the election. In such cases we advise a notification of the appointment to the registration officer and that a claim be made for free copies.

Election News Sheets.

Long before election news sheets had received any recognition from the writers of election text-books, and long before they had become general in the Labour Party and copied by our opponents, the "Labour Organiser" again and again advocated the small newspaper as the best means for popularising Labour's message and presenting it in novel and attractive form.

The election newspaper has come to stay; indeed, in many constituencies it has done so in another way and become a definite periodical, the "Election Special" appearing only as a special number.

The view we desire to express is that in those constituencies still without a monthly periodical consideration should be given to bringing forward the publication of the election news sheet. Generally, where no regular paper is published the Election Special will consist of one or at most two issues. We want to suggest that in many cases the paper could be published from now on *every month*, and the total cost of the additional publications could very largely be obtained by advertisements that can be secured now while there is leisure to secure them.

We will put it this way. Few single-issue election papers contain any advertisements. The absence of such advertisements means a loss of income that may be anything, even exceeding 100 per cent. of the whole cost. If the policy be adopted of obtaining advertisements and having a larger number of issues, it is unlikely that the total nett cost is going to be much more than the original cost of one

issue without advertisements. Parties are advised to work this matter out.

There is an abundance of propaganda material available just now for filling any paper, and with very little effort advertisements can be got for a guaranteed circulation. The number of additional issues and the amount of circulation as may be secured prior to the election, is the measure of an increased effort that may make all the difference between victory and defeat.

The cost of any election specials should of course be charged to election account. The position in relation to this matter of papers that have been published periodically will be discussed in a later issue.

Looking Ahead.

The election agent and the Party who understand their job are not waiting till the election comes along before deciding certain lines of policy, and on certain expenditure. When the election does come the wail will inevitably go up from several hundred constituencies asking for speakers, and all sorts of help in this direction that cannot be given.

The starting point in this matter is to realise that when the election comes everybody will be fighting at home, and there will be no time for excursions here, there and everywhere. Even if some speakers find themselves free, demands are likely to be so overwhelming that commonsense planning cannot even be attempted.

This sort of thing has given electioneers an idea, and one which is not so far removed from the discovery that people don't take to meetings like they used to do, and that novelty in electioneering is more than ever a necessity.

The Loud Speaker apparatus *purchased now* is going to have infinitely more effect than all the stars who can be introduced on the platforms. Pre-election propaganda is made easier by it, and election work will be more quickly and effectively accomplished without the aid or the cost of extra speakers. We are glad to note that up-to-date Parties and agents throughout the country are taking time by the forelock, and they are buying their apparatus in good time.

We cannot too strongly commend this method. If the purchase of a Loud Speaker apparatus is left till close on the election, there may be disappointment in delivery, while cer-

tainly there will be a lack of familiarity with the instrument in use, not to mention the lost opportunities of the intervening months.

To each and every constituency, we would say get your Loud Speaker *now*. It won't deteriorate or depreciate in novelty or effectiveness by the time the election comes, and it will earn its corn in the meantime.

Poster Propaganda.

Much has been heard during recent months in Labour circles regarding the "National" Government's poster campaign. The Labour Party recently made an offer to constituency Parties and presented an opportunity of answering the campaign by the use of special posters, paid for locally. We believe response has not been particularly encouraging, and we are tempted to ask whether Labour's attitude to posters is all that it affects to be—or is it that the grapes are sour?

Short of newspaper advertising a poster campaign presents the advertiser to-day with the most effective means of reaching the British public. Labour almost entirely ignores this method of advertising except for meetings, and excuses itself because of the cost.

We want to say that if Labour had a proper appreciation of the values of a poster campaign, the cost would not stand in the way. Indeed, had our advice been taken years ago, Labour to-day would probably be making money out of its own stations in many parts of the country. Some of the finest advertising sites in many towns and villages belong to Labour organisations, who entirely neglect their opportunities either for rental or Labour use.

Throughout the British countryside there are hundreds, nay thousands, of "stations" available to Labour for the asking. And heaven alone knows how many there are in the towns. Years and years ago, we advised our readers to make notice-boards and set them up in the grounds of supporters. Hardly anything has been done; hardly a Party possesses any notice boards at all, and one can travel hundreds of miles along British roads without ever seeing a single Labour poster, good, bad, or indifferent.

The fact is that no enterprise has been put into this matter, and difficulties have been exaggerated. We do not know a single case where the notice-boards were made and then

offered to friends possessing suitable vantage points for their display. Whatever pretences or excuses may be made the fact remains that this method has not been tried; one supposes that Labour folk prefer to remain in the hands of billposting companies who have the audacity to charge double prices at election times!

We should like Labour Parties to wake up about this matter. Suitable boards can be made for less than one shilling apiece. As the numbers grow so Parties may become less dependent on the billposter, to the great saving of election funds. What is more important, the message can be got in earlier, and all the year round. This is the lesson we want to get home here.

Our references so far have been intended for the display of double crown or larger sizes in posters. Agents and Parties, however, would do well now to consider what possibilities exist in their constituencies for the display of two or more really large written signs. A little thought given to this matter may save a lot of rushed work

MODERN AGENTS ADOPT MODERN METHODS

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Whitefield, Llandaff and Barry,
Chippenham, Northampton,
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at the election, though it is only necessary at the moment to have some idea *where* such signs can be erected, and to think out some suitable means of illumination, if that is practicable.

The agent will wish to avoid the danger of fixing any sign which he may afterwards have to take down by reason of any infringement. We have known a sign written on linen to be so fixed as to become virtually a banner. Commonsense and judgment must enter into such matters, but an agent at an election having once taken his stand that a particular device is not an infringement of the law should hold his ground. We knew a candidate once who was frightened into taking down signs covering six adjoining shop fronts—and we never thought there was the slightest illegality about them!

Selecting the Staff.

The increasing work and strain of a modern election is such that an election staff is almost invariably a necessity.

It is more and more to-day imperative for the election agent to be in immediate touch with everything that is happening in the Division during the election. No longer is the agent content to rely upon the work of sub-agents, who may vary very much in quality. The appointment of sub-agents as such, is rapidly going out of favour. As no election agent can do all the work, district control has given place to departmentalisation, and one of the initial and most difficult tasks of an agent is to select and engage suitable heads for his various departments.

In a by-election departmentalisation is developed to a high degree—even more so by our opponents than by the Labour Party. The agent tends more and more to be a sort of minister without portfolio, though in this case he must of necessity hold the Premiership, too.

No general rule can be laid down as to the extent to which departmentalisation is desirable at a General Election. Both finance and the experience of those available (including the agent) help to decide this issue. A sound agent will always seek to have at least one trustworthy general deputy, one person to take charge of the meetings campaign, another the canvass, and another the general oversight of writing up and literature distribution. Specialisation can go much further than this.

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The point we wish to make is that the modern trend has helped us to discover and train people who have particular aptitude for particular jobs. Such persons are not always available when wanted, but in most constituencies men with special acquaintance of a certain election job are known, and their services should be sought.

Special training for special jobs is frequently necessary, however, though it should not be forgotten that specialists out of their own experience are often able to put up suggestions which make for efficiency in their own particular work.

The question of the general training of workers is another matter and will be dealt with next month.

(To be continued.)

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WHAT OTHERS ARE DOING

"The world may be getting worse, but the 'Labour Organiser' ain't."—Jack Bailey, Bradford and District Co-operative Party.

The Whitechapel and St. George's Labour Party have commenced publication of a four-page monthly, known as "The Gazette." We note there is a guaranteed circulation of ten thousand copies monthly. All power to this newcomer.

The Westminster Abbey Divisional Labour Party have commenced the publication of a monthly duplicated sheet known as the "Abbey Socialist." The price is one penny and the editor is Elinor B. Rhodes. As one might expect a publication by this famous Party reaches a standard above the average; we trust this venture will grow into print. It is among the few duplicated journals which caters for advertisements.

The Elland Divisional Labour Party have commenced publication of the "Elland Democrat." This seems a useful propaganda pre-election sheet but we suggest that short and pithy propaganda paragraphs might be worked up and included in future issues. We are not sure of the total number of copies being distributed per month, but if there is a general distribution this work should have a great effect on the coming election result.

AGENCY CHANGES AND NEW APPOINTMENTS

YEOVIL. Mr. Harry Jackson, late of Birmingham, has been appointed full-time agent at Yeovil. Address: Unity Hall, Vicarage Street, Yeovil.

PECKHAM. Mr. W. Reddeford, late part-time agent, has now been appointed full-time agent. Address: 139 High Street, Peckham, London, S.E.15.

IPSWICH. Mr. F. Hodgkinson, of Burslem, has been appointed to the recently-advertised vacancy for a Co-operative Political Secretary. Address: (after September 2nd), c/o Ipswich Co-operative Society, Ltd., 38 Carr Street, Ipswich.

ELECTORAL STUDY COURSE AND EXAMINATIONS.

The Study Course examinations on Electoral Law and Organisation were held on dates between June 22nd and July 13th in London, Bristol, Birmingham, Manchester, Sheffield and Newcastle.

The principal examiners, Mr. G. R. Shepherd (National Agent) and Mr. Barefoot (representative of the Agents' Union), together with the deputy examiners, Mr. H. Drinkwater, Mr. C. C. Jones and Mr. Harold Croft, conducted the examinations.

There were thirty-nine entrants of whom thirty-four passed and five failed to satisfy the examiners.

Grade A Agents' Certificates will be presented to full-time Agent entrants and proficiency certificates to member entrants.

A considerable number of applications for a fresh course have been received, but in view of the General Election a new course will not be initiated before that Election.

THE STANDARD PRINTING CO. LTD.,

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NOMINATION PAPERS

HINTS ON COMPLETION (PARLIAMENTARY)

THOUGH the filling in of most election forms is a matter for the expert, the form of nomination is a document to which the humblest elector has the right to subscribe.

Though the prescribed form is simplicity itself it is amazing what a great proportion of forms are spoiled or incomplete when finally their production is required. It may not be amiss therefore to give some quite simple details regarding the filling in of these forms; such instructions are intended for all and everyone concerned.

Where Forms Are To Be Obtained.

Section VIII and the first schedule of the Ballot Act 1872 provides that every returning officer is to provide such nomination papers as may be necessary for conducting the election in proper manner. He is further instructed that he must give public notice of the time and place at which nomination papers may be obtained, and he is compelled to supply "a form of nomination" to any elector requiring same, providing the latter applies during certain fixed hours between ten in the morning and two in the afternoon; the fixed hours will be any two hours within that time.

The Ballot Act provides that the use of a nomination paper supplied by the returning officer is not obligatory. In practice the forms generally used are obtained by the election agent from the Labour Party, and other suppliers of official stationery. Though some returning officers will supply the agent with any required number of papers, there is no compulsion to do so, and in any case where it is proposed to secure a large number of nominations for electioneering purposes, forms are best obtained from non-official sources.

Forms For Counties and Boroughs.

One form of nomination paper only is prescribed by the Ballot Act, and it matters not whether copies of the form are written, typed, duplicated or printed, or whence they come, provided that the "form" of nomination is observed.

However, because there are different types of constituencies (Boroughs, County Divisions, etc.) returning

officers and vendors of official forms, including the Labour Party, provide slightly different forms for different constituencies. On these distinctive forms the official wording is merely revised to make the same fit in for a Borough, a County Division or a Division of a divided borough as the case may be. We have seen some pretty mix-ups as the result of the use of the wrong form and an agent must exercise commonsense regarding the forms he uses.

Nomination papers are sometimes provided which contain headings or even instructions; however praiseworthy in intention these additions may be they form no part of the official paper, and any error in the filling in of superfluous headings, etc., does not invalidate the nomination paper if otherwise that portion of the form which has been prescribed is in order.

Date on Nomination Paper.

A common instance is to head the nomination paper with the name of the particular borough or county and to add a line for date of election. There is no need at all to fill this in, and the wording referred to is at any rate a trifle misleading. The colloquial date of the election may not coincide with the official day of election. If we had to fill in such particulars we should give the day of nomination for this purpose. This, in law, is the day of election, the ballot being only a postponement of the election.

Sometimes a date is to be found at the foot of the forms, and this purports to be a provision for the date on which the nomination paper was subscribed. This is altogether objectionable and misleading, for there is no provision in law that every signature to a nomination paper, or even of the proposer and seconder should be appended *on the same day*. Where a date so appears it is better to leave it open. It has always appeared to us that by leaving any date off the form of nomination, Parliament left it to the commonsense of the official to understand that a nomination paper handed in in the prescribed time for a particular election, obviously had reference to that election and none other.



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The Nomination First.

The first business about a nomination paper is a correct description of the person to be nominated. The law says that each candidate shall be described in the nomination paper in such manner as, in the opinion of the returning officer, is calculated to sufficiently identify such candidate. His description shall include his names, his abode, and his rank, profession or calling. As will be seen from the official form of nomination reproduced below, the Act gives illustrations which are a guide as to what sufficient description consists of. On more than one occasion we have had candidates whose descriptions notwithstanding these hints created some doubt. In such case the agent is advised to seek the opinion of the returning officer prior to nomination day.

WE DESIRE TO GIVE AN EMPHATIC WARNING TO ELECTION AGENTS AGAINST SENDING OUT FOR SIGNATURE NOMINATION PAPERS IN BLANK FORM. No nomination paper should ever go out from the Central Office without the description of the candidate being properly filled in, and adequate instructions given regarding the rest of the paper.

Proposers, Seconders, Assentors

The Act requires in respect of each nomination paper one proposer, one seconder and eight assentors. No person must sign more than one nomination paper unless in the case of a two Membered constituency.

Here again it is necessary to warn workers against signing nomination papers except in the proper order of signature. It is by no means unknown for a nomination paper to be signed by assentors prior to the signatures of the proposer and seconder being obtained. Where such a fact is provable the nomination is invalid. Unfortunately, the practice of filling in the nomination form irregularly prevails more in respect to the forms on which reliance is to be placed than in respect of those papers which are signed purely for electioneering purposes.

How Signatures Should Be Subscribed.

It is an extraordinary thing that many electors still persist in supposing that they must sign their name on a nomination paper in the way in which it appears on the register of electors, i.e., surname first. It is surprising too that in some places such papers are accepted!

All such papers really are invalid because a name signed backward is no signature at all.

Every nominator and assentor must be a registered elector. Frequently in seeking to check this matter it is discovered that there is a difference between the actual name of the proposed subscriber and that appearing on the register. Our own practice is never to rely upon a nomination paper in respect of which any such discrepancy has appeared.

A case is recorded of an elector appearing on the paper as Charles Burman, though his real name was Charles Arthur Burman. The nomination paper was held to be bad as the discrepancy suggested that there might be two distinct persons. It is by no means certain that rejection of a ballot paper on these grounds would hold good to-day, but there is no earthly reason why the risk should be run.

The addition of "Junior" or "Senior" to a name, or a common contraction of some christian name in the ordinary signature of a subscriber does not invalidate the paper. No election agent, however, is wise to run too much risk in this matter. Far and away the better course is for nomination papers only to be signed while the register is present.

It will be noticed that the nomination paper asks for the "abode" of the candidate. This means the actual residence—not the place of business. No such definite intimation is given in respect of the signatories to the paper whose addresses are, however, required. A business address is unsatisfactory, and it is submitted that it is the true place of abode which is required. This at any rate should always be given.

Correcting a Nomination Paper.

It frequently happens that after the necessary ten signatures have been obtained one signature is found to be invalid. In the case of an assentor this defect can be remedied by the addition of another name, for so long as the form contains eight good assentors the fact that there is an invalid one does not make the paper void.

But where the invalidity concerns the proposer or seconder it is impossible to legally rectify the error in this way. Certainly no returning officer would be likely to accept as valid a paper where one proposer or seconder had at some time been substituted for another.

FORM OF NOMINATION PAPER IN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION.

We, the undersigned A.B. of..... in the..... of.....
 and C.D. of..... in the..... of....., being
 electors for the..... of....., do hereby nominate the following
 person as a proper person to serve as member for the said..... in Parliament :

Surname.	Other Names.	Abode.	Rank, Profession or Occupation.
BROWN	John	52, George St., Bristol	Merchant
JONES	or William David	High Elms, Wilts.	Esquire
MERTON	or Hon. George Travis, commonly called Viscount	Swanworth, Berks.	Viscount
SMITH	or Henry Sydney	72, High St., Bath.	Attorney

(Signed) A.B.
C.D.

We, the undersigned, being registered electors of the....., do hereby assent to
 the nomination of the above-mentioned *John Brown* as a proper person to serve as member for the
 said..... in Parliament.

(Signed) E.F. of.....
 G.H. of.....
 I.J. of.....
 K.L. of.....
 M.N. of.....
 O.P. of.....
 Q.R. of.....
 S.T. of.....

NOTE.—Where a candidate is an Irish Peer, or is commonly known by some title, he may be described
 by his title as if it were his surname.

THE LATE ARTHUR W. PETCH

The tragic death of Mr. Arthur W. Petch on 15th inst. must have come as a shock to many of our readers to whom Mr. Petch was well known. Only eleven days previously Mrs. Petch too had passed away.

The shock and the loss has been personally felt by those responsible for this journal. Only recently we had been associated with Mr. Petch in investigations into the cost of a Pensions Scheme for Labour Party employees. In this matter Mr. Petch had given voluntary and valuable service of the highest importance.

As our readers will know, Mr. Petch was the Financial Secretary and Office Manager of N.U.D.A.W. He was one of those great Trades Union officials whose name and qualities do not come before the public eye, but whose work lives after them. Charming in manner, unassuming, but with great personal gifts, his death is a loss to both the Trades Union and Labour Political Movement, to both of which he had devoted his life. Mr. Petch died suddenly at the early age of 49.

FRANK SMITH'S BEREAVEMENT

The sympathy of every reader of the "Labour Organiser" will go out to Mr. Frank Smith in the sad and sudden bereavement he experienced by the death of Mrs. Smith which took place at County Hall on July 12th.

Mrs. Elizabeth Smith, J.P., was one of those valiant women who, behind the scenes, comfort and nurture their husbands, and sustain them in the fight—and Frank Smith has had many. Mrs. Smith did more, for she was a great-hearted woman, whose public work, particularly in Balham and Tooting, was well known.

It has been said that the home of this grand couple in Longley Road, Tooting, was ever open for any who needed assistance and advice. At all times of the day, and often late at night, Mrs. Smith was at the disposal of poor people who required her help.

We have by us a photograph of Mr. and Mrs. Smith taken in the garden of Longley Road a few moments before leaving for County Hall. It was but a few moments after Mrs. Smith's arrival there that the end came.

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HOLIDAY READING

ROAD MEMORIES

By the EDITOR—Reprinted from the "L.O." March, 1926.

SUNDAY : and as I write a setting March sun, saddest of all sunsets, drops lower in the valley. Perhaps because I was born an optimist I have never cared for dying suns. I am a child of the animate, and I and sunset go different ways—the one to die ; I to live, and, I hope, to do.

Poets may sing their paean of sunset, artists may (try to) catch on canvas that sky-wracked picture of fading glory, but to me the spangled wreckage of the western sky brings a heartache.

To-night the dying sun teased and taunted. I turned my back ; and wrote you this :

ROAD MEMORIES.

To-morrow there is one heart in England that will sing a song. That heart is mine.

When God made the valleys and the hills, and the rivers, and the darksome deep, He left out one essential thing. He forgot the roads !

Roads have been a long time coming. It is 50,000 to 200,000 years since Neanderthal man (successor to the sub-man), came through the trackless wastes to watersides and made the first human byway. After that the world changed, the ice crept down, and man and footpaths lay forgotten underneath.

The world was much as we know it when the last ice disappeared, except for roads. So, as those fierce early forefathers of ours from the Hun lands beyond the North Sea came cautiously treading their way amid the new verdure of a resurrected land we may be sure they followed carefully in the tracks their leader made.

Thus roads began again ; to-day's roads. And to-morrow for sixty miles I shall toot-toot and pip-pip down a broad and smooth valley track that is the lineal descendant, I am sure, of the far-off stone man's tracks as he traced the long river to its broad and sandy mouth.

* * *

I love roads. I hate sunsets. To-morrow as the sun rises, I shall swish through the open gate and take to the

open road. But I shall remember, as I ride, him of strange and hairy visage, my farthest forefather, peeping and peering through the treacherous growths as he sought the beaten track. I, modern man, 1926-edly mounted, follow the same road. Maybe our souls acknowledge. *He* is not dead. Sunsets die : we go on !

* * *

To-morrow the new sun will rise to time. It will shine brightly as it rises. I know because I am an optimist ! And this new sun, this hope sun, this vigour sun, this work sun, this grand sun, will shine and light up a long, long range of rugged hills that were ridged up in the birth pangs of our modern world. Malvern Hills are granite, but deep below the mountain mass lies a secret of a world gone by. Below the Malverns there is *marl*. The Malverns then are just giants with feet of clay ; upthrusts and boilings over of a devil's cauldron in the days before roads.

There is one sunset that fascinates me. Picture yourself on a flat and open common, with a 1,000 feet ridge rising sheerly to the west ; the height may not be much in mountain, but the flat plain and contrast are there. I love to see the sun drop down behind, and the gloom of darkness be defeated as long rows of lights appear dotting the hillside till it looks like a starry sky from miles away upon the plain. Those lights are friendly lights, and many a time in the eerie hours of night they have called me to a halt, while I paused to worship in the night—the life that lives ! Malvern has other charms. This one is best.

* * *

To-morrow the sun will shine on my eastern side, and the hills will lie on my right. It is just this arrangement of the immutable things that will suit me best, to-morrow. And if you too will see and enjoy the greatness and beauties of nature to the best advantage, it is worth while putting the sun and the object to be viewed in proper alignment. The right way, for instance, to view the sea from Southport (where there isn't any) is to get up in the morning and do a discourtesy to the early sun. Fancy trying to look westward over the glassy

coffin of an expiring scorchers in July!

And so to-morrow I shall spy into the innards of Malvern Hills, its cracks and excoriations. I shall see something that is not nature's work. I don't mean the hideous quarries but the earthworks of ancient man.

* * *

Which reminds me of Romans. Romans are my pet aversion—amongst others. They made roads, good roads and straight roads, and for that I incline to mercy. But *they were slave roads*! There is blood on our Roman roads. I know not whence came the slaves who toiled, and were lashed, and perhaps died and buried, to make our Fosse Way, Watling Street, and others. Phoenicians maybe; the flotsam of Carthage; captured raiders from the Gauls; or rebels from Spain. Heaven knows, but this *we* know, and old Boadicea knew, that Rome was cruel, relentless, inhuman, impersonal, and hellish in its crimes.

I never ride a Roman road but I think of the Appian Way. There they crucified 6,000 of the underdogs who fought with Spartacus. Where *we* plant trees, *they* planted crosses, and dying rebels left to die. That memory will curse the Romans and their roads down through history—if rebels remember, as I set it down here for *you* to do.

* * *

Tewkesbury, Roman founded, with true military prescience at the confluence of two rivers, greater than now. Gloucester—ah, Gloucester, pleasant enough city, but founded by the Romans.

And Romans there are in Gloucester to-day or were a generation ago. Let a lad go to a Gloucester high school in poverty, patched clothes, or someone else's trousers; what he gets will be such to rankle not alone in a lad's mind, but to pursue him into manhood, and haunt him through the world. There is no jeer that cuts like scorn from the rich. You may beat them to a frazzle in the class-room, take their scholarships, win their prizes, but to be poor, or hungry, is to incite the pack. To be poor in church-ridden Gloucester is to be whipped with scorpions. And to be poor, and in its high schools, is to be crucified on the Appian Way. For I remember.

* * *

But to-morrow there is one heart in England that will sing a song. That heart will be mine—though the iron sticks.

Road raids though another bad remembrance haven't affected the roads yet; they are good so far. And the free air of the broad plain 'twixt the Cotswolds, the Malverns and the outliers of the Welsh system, is a grand and exceptional thing. Life-giving ozone comes blowing in from the Bristol Channel on the winds that convoy the last waters of the Gulf Stream.

The fertile Severn valley aeons ago formed a natural bed for the grand glaciers that fertilised by precipitation the land they flowed over. The Severn, in its turn, and in its age-long task of conveying Wales to the sea, has also enriched the valley lands. Thus it is that the winds from the far Indies, breathing a breath of life over the land, discover a richer greenness and a land fruitfulness that man has never yet fully exploited. And to-morrow! To-morrow!!

* * *

Thirty-four miles from Gloucester Cross to Bristol, runs the road, straight, tarred, Ministry-width, and well-used. But not always so. I have walked it every inch, and I know. In that day I was seeking a fortune I never found with 1s. 4d. to grease the road. But nineteen has hopes. At any rate, I did—plus a wife in the city behind me, and the task in front of finding a home and fortune for two.

I remember to-morrow's road. It was a lonely one, no motors, a few cushion-tyred bikes, few carts and never a lift. There were stones, too, and February mud, which came in at my boots.

But to-morrow I shall prance over that road. In the long ago, while Britain was in the making, other and nobler boys came down that road. They hied for Bristol and the sea. For Bristol and Westward Ho! Four hundred years have gone since the first boy stepped it en route to the New World. Yet I imagine he was living when I stepped it too? We live. Only sunsets die!

* * *

But *kings* die. I remember yet the first time I read that horrid story of Berkeley Castle (14 miles ex Gloucester) and of the night-long agonies there of King Edward II. Murder seemed that day to come very near to me, and the repulsion with which the tale filled me, taken with its traditional embellishments, holds me still.

However, to-morrow, my heart must

sing a song, though to-night's sunset was probably very like that which the second Edward last looked upon. Sunsets and death are both unnerving. We'll take to the road.

* * *

It is night: four hours to sunrise. There is no all-night trace of sunset as in summer. The road calls, the darkness pulls; the engine has it! And we're off.

A night ride! Rise, ye be-cushioned train-riders! Rouse, ye sleepy corridors! Avaunt, ye tired travellers, with cold feet in colder stations, awaiting the train which carries while the dreamy night drags on!

I tell of life—living, rushing life, borne on the wings of night. I tell of the wind, the loud, swift, tearing wind, on which is waft the voice of angels, guiding, sustaining, warning, soothing. I tell of the Great Passion, to be alone on the night road, alone with the stars above and the swirling current around, and the good engine purring faithfully beneath. I tell, nay, I cannot tell, of the thoughts that fill one as the world goes madly by and the night gods seize the wheel, and grip my soul, prevailing; over everything, roads, towns, distance, even me.

* * *

Was it not the Bounder who died in the night? whom the road took for its own in the long last? They found him and his machine, but the end no man knew. The night knew. He checked in with the night wind still fresh in his face, and the winds blew on with yet another spirit in their keeping. For the night winds *do* bear spirits on their bosoms; and they talk, and cheer, kiss and begone. Anyway, I would like to die like that. One clear call. In the night winds I still could "carry on."

Oh, ye tenderfeet, of the town and train. I often think of you after the meeting, and what you miss. You dream of Liberty, but on the open common, the soul swells and sings a song. True, there is a boundary somewhere, but the horizon is far away and mists hide it. Here we are free.

And in the woodland avenues? How the trees guard one, as they overhang the road; the wind voices take a different key, and almost whisper a friendly suggestion of shelter.

* * *

Alone? We are not alone. Life is abundant in the night. Our head-

lamps, on a long night ride, catch the green eyes of countless inhabitants of the hedgerows and roadside. In the night man resigns his mastership and gives over to the "lower" world, who abound.

Alone? Stand some night on the hillside, with engine stopped, when the crackle of cooling metal has ceased, and listen. There is no silence, but there is a world at work. Love-making, butchering and play, house-hunting, home-building, emigrations and travel, these things go on at night in the lower world as they go on in our daylight. Sometimes there is a human cry. But it is always one of pain; and the cry of human kind is the one night cry I fain would never hear.

* * *

And now the night is nearly over. The grey herald is colouring up the east. I want to-morrow!

For to-morrow one heart in England will sing a song. And in the night I must say to that heart: Patience!

But for to-morrow—the high sun, and the high road! Memories be damned! The flight of gods and the voice of angels shall combine to make one heart rejoice, as I speed and pip-pip down the ancient road that wild men travelled in the long ago.

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BAZAARS

AND HOW TO RUN THEM—

By HINLEY ATKINSON.

[The following instructive article from the pen of Mr. Hinley Atkinson, the London Organiser for the Labour Party, appeared in our issues for July to September, 1923. At that time Mr. Atkinson was a constituency agent in Yorkshire, and wrote a series of articles giving hints on Bazaars and money-raising. The following extract from these articles relating to Bazaars and Sales of Work will bear reprinting and is of particular service to readers in view of coming winter activities.]

THE Bazaar or Sale of Work is a means of raising a substantial sum of money with comparatively small risk. Though the risk is small the work involved is considerable. It can, however, be extended over a long period, thereby sustaining the interest of members by a pleasant activity on behalf of the Party. The methods described below of organising these sales may be distinctly amateurish, but as they are not "just theory," and have proved profitable, they are given for the benefit of Parties which have yet to experiment in raising revenue.

In a county constituency a concentration of workers in support of one big effort is, for geographical reasons, impossible, and it is therefore necessary to have several efforts in different districts if a substantial sum is to be raised. We will assume that it is intended to organise four sales during the next autumn and winter. In each of these districts a committee of willing workers should be formed comprising both men and women, and a first meeting should be held with the object of putting in hand preparations which will contribute towards a successful sale yielding the largest possible net profit.

What is a successful sale? Unlike most of the success we aim for in our Party, it is measured largely by cash results. Other advantages are not to be despised. The advertisement value

of a successful sale is considerable, and the pride of achievement is a stimulant to further activities by members. But the main objective is cash, and our plans should be shaped with this material end in view. We are going into business and we cannot do better than adopt business-like methods in our preparations.

What can we sell, and what can we offer for sale? Any useful article in constant demand is saleable; but generally speaking, we are limited in our offers to those articles which can be made or provided by our own workers. For example, boots are useful articles, but because our workers have not the necessary skill and material to make boots we cannot include them. It is often suggested that boots and other articles might be bought at wholesale rates and sold at a profit of 25 per cent. Do not go in for this kind of shop-keeping on any account. Failure is certain by such methods.

Shop-Keeping Doesn't Pay.

It is very important to remember that the amount of money which will be spent at a sale is strictly limited, and it must, therefore, be our aim to keep expenditure on saleable goods as low as is consistent with their provision. If we are out for £100 profit we shall need to sell at least £500 worth of goods on the shop-keeping system. If, as is far more likely, our gross receipts are only likely to be £150, it will be seen that there is no chance of clearing £100 unless we keep our expenditure, including overhead charges, down to one-third of our total takings. In other words, by providing with few exceptions only those articles made by our own workers, we can work on an average profit of 65 to 75 per cent. This is not profiteering, as no account has been taken of the labour value of the articles which is introduced by our workers.

Fortunately, the class of goods which

are at once the most in demand and the most profitable, *can* be offered. The "Work Stall" as it is called on the day of the sale, comprises an endless variety of useful and fancy garments and articles, which, as the name of the stall implies, are "worked" by the women connected with the sale. The "Work Stalls" are the backbone of the sale, and one might say that the other "features" added together do not, as a rule, count for more than this stall whether from the angle of interest or profit.

A List of Stalls.

To add to our list of stalls we may set up the following: Refreshment, Pound, Jumble, Books, Novelty, Men's Work, Arts and Craft. A word on each of these stalls. In addition to the provision of tea for those who require it—and as this is a profit-making concern, those who do not require it but can be persuaded to pay for it—a Refreshment Stall of cakes, toffee, ice cream, jellies and the like, will do a profitable business. Both for the tea and the stall the bulk of the refreshment can be begged by an energetic refreshment committee. Every woman likes to contribute from her baking to such an exhibition. Whatever her politics she likes to be invited to contribute the special dish or dainty at which she excels. The women in Yorkshire are like that, anyhow!

A "Pound" Stall is made up of gifts of any edible or usable commodity of a pound weight and these are sold at market prices. A pound of washing soda, soap, tea, butter, fruit, jam, etc., have a variety of values which give an opportunity to contribute a pound not beyond the means of the exchequer. This stall can be made very attractive, and the contents are easy to dispose of because they are everyday necessities in any household.

A Jumble Stall in connection with a Sale of Work may be unusual, but unless it is the custom to run a jumble sale as a separate event it should be included in the sale. There is no difficulty in clearing from £5 to £10 from this stall with very little effort. Classify and value the jumble and allow plenty of room for display. Appoint three or four attendants to cope with the rush of buyers and the jumble will be gone in very short time.

A Book Stall attracts attention and patronage. Beg second-hand books,

especially cheap edition novels. The pick of these will fetch half the original price. Later they can be reduced. Accept any books, bearing in mind that a popular novel will fetch 9d., while a six-volume out-of-date encyclopedia will do well to sell for 6d. Get on with the begging in good time and there will be no great difficulty in gathering together two or three hundred books from which £5 to £8 should result.

The Arts and Crafts Stall is dependent on the number of artistically-trained workers and craftsmen connected with the sale. If this is not possible for a full stall do not forget it in connection with a Novelty Stall. This latter is worth attempting because it adds to the variety of the display. Old pieces of crockery, toys, fretwork, fancy needlework, etc., are suitable contents. The judicious investment of £3 or £4 in articles of specially good value which will carry a big profit, is worth consideration for this stall. Many wonderful lines in fancy and useful crockery, photo frames, toys, household utensils to meet this purpose can

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be obtained from 3d. and 6d. bazaar firms. This suggestion is not made for the main provision of novelties but as a means of giving it variety and a little extra profit.

A Men's Stall, too, often dwindles to proportions which lead to its incorporation with the Novelty Stall. This ought not to unless there is an Arts and Crafts Stall. Our men ought to aim at a contribution as substantial as the Women's Work Stall. At one recent sale a member made a full suite of bedroom furniture in miniature, "a thing of beauty and a joy for ever." Others made breakfast trays in oak, small wheelbarrows, framed pictures, etc.

We have now a general idea of the kind of work to be done for the sale. The number and kind of stalls will be governed by the space available, time for preparation, and the number and type of workers. Not less than four stalls should be attempted, counting the Work Stall as one even though it be divided into two or three for display purposes.

Get Committee Going.

The Committee has now to decide how the preparation can best be done, and, where a group of sales are to be held, what co-operation is possible. In the latter case a small committee representative of all the districts should decide the merits and extent of co-operation along the following lines :—

- (a) Shall each sale be prepared and held separately in each town, with the joint committee as a consulting body for the exchange of ideas and information, and the co-operative buying of working materials where this is an advantage.
- (b) Shall all the work be pooled and the sales held in rotation with a small period between each for the replenishments of stocks.
- (c) Shall all the districts work for a single sale in one big centre.

The decision should be based on local circumstances, but (a) is recommended because it gives the advantages of consultation and co-operation in buying whilst leaving each district the stimulus of working for its own local effort in its own way. (b) entails considerable work in co-ordination and the solid advantage of this suggestion can be reaped by passing on the surplus to the next sale on turn without pooling. (c) is not advised because it will be

found in practice that more enthusiastic work will be done for a local event and that relative to the size a smaller district will get better sale results.

Co-operation gives the advantage of wholesale instead of retail buying. Enquiry in the various districts will lead to a comparison of prices, samples and sources of supply. This applies almost entirely to materials for the Work Stall, and as a rule a committee of working women can be trusted to get value for money. It is not suggested that this joint committee shall do all the buying, but that it shall, through its representatives, keep in touch with local purchasing committees and make joint purchases where benefit accrues. Some consideration must be given to the kind of materials and garments required. It is sheer waste to make articles beyond the means of our customers or unsuitable to their needs.

How Much Preparation?

Having decided these points and made initial purchases the local committees can get to work. No Sale should be undertaken with less than four to six months' preparation for the Work Stall. Other stalls do not need so long to prepare. Each stall must be the responsibility of a separate committee, and for a beginning all the women suitable should concentrate on preparation for the Work Stall under the direction of the Work Stall Committee. It is the business of this committee to appoint the most suitable persons as buyers, cutters, pricers, etc. Experience counts, as every man knows when he wears his first home-made shirt! A centre for despatching, receiving and checking work is necessary, though the actual work can be done in part at sewing meetings and in part at the convenience (?) of the worker in her own home.

Within two months of the sale, committees for other stalls should be in action. Some of the women workers will be released from sewing and will transfer their attention to the refreshment arrangements. The men ought to be responsible for the preparation of Book, Jumble, Men's and Novelty Stalls, though it is advisable that some women be on these committees to stimulate them.

As soon as a date can be fixed for the sale a suitable hall must be booked for that date and for the day or evening before. An Arrangements Committee

will be appointed to deal with advertising and the preparation of the hall. Preliminary notices of the event should be issued, schemes of advertising decided upon, an orchestra or band secured, and the hall planned out for the various stalls with suitable provision for the erection of these. Trestles and tables can be utilised for the latter, and a small expenditure on wood combined with a little voluntary labour will convert them into stalls with back rails and canopies for the Work Stall, and other adjustments for other stalls. Decorations for draping the stalls and beautifying the hall must not be overlooked. In part these can be improvised and any necessary purchases can be utilised for all the sales.

The Bazaar Directors.

Every Stall Committee should complete its work and arrangements in good time, not forgetting the appointment of stall attendants for the day of sale. Where sufficient workers are available attendants should be changed every two or three hours and a list of these changes attached to the stall and given to each attendant. The Arrangements Committee should be acquainted with the intentions of the various Stall Committees and it should in turn keep each committee informed of the arrangements made for it in the hall.

Despite good organisation matters needing decision will arise during the day of sale. To deal with these and for the purpose of general supervision on the day, two directors—a man and a woman—should be appointed, and all difficulties referred to them. Two cashiers should also be appointed, whose duty it will be to provide "change" to each stall before the proceedings begin, also periodically to remove the cash from the stalls and record all receipts. An admission charge should be made, but this should not be prohibitive thereby keeping customers outside. Threepence to sixpence is sufficient.

We have yet to discuss how the sale is to be financed. In the best interests of the sale it is an advantage not to have much capital, if any. To expend no capital but to earn necessary expenditure by means of special efforts as we proceed is the ideal method. Aim at paying all expenses before the sale so that the total proceeds are net profits. Hold whist drives, dances, suppers, toffee sales to meet necessary expenditure. Every shilling earned in this way

is adding to the profits of the sale, just as every shilling spent from the funds or borrowed capital, is reducing the profits. To make a quick start with preparations it may be advisable to borrow a few pounds from the Party funds, but the method of earning should be adopted as well. A little ingenuity and enthusiasm will finance the preparations and keep the expenditure low.

A matter of at least equal importance is to ensure that our supporters and the sympathetic public shall have money to spend on the day of sale. Adequate advertising will bring along a number of "outside" buyers, but it is better for us to have some guarantee that the goods will be bought. Imagine the satisfaction of knowing on the eve of the sale that of the £150 worth of goods displayed, one-third or one-half of them are sold—or at any rate paid for. A Bazaar Committee the writer knows has £40 in the bank, the takings at its next effort in November or December, 1923! The success of that sale looks like being assured.

Getting the Money In.

How is it done? By the club system. Issue a printed Bazaar Club Card ruled for date, amount and collector. Accept sums of 3d. upwards weekly with or without the offer of an added percentage of 5 per cent. on the total paid in to within a month of the sale. This method of ensuring success is quite successful, especially so where the collection is made regularly. A week before the sale the cards should be called in and the amount subscribed paid out to the member in "paper money," specially printed to act as currency for the occasion. This "money" is printed in various denominations from 1d. to 5/- on perforated cards totalling about 30/- each, so that any amount can be paid out and any change given at the stalls. It is most important for the cashier to see that each stall is furnished with "paper change" and instructed to give no other in exchange for "paper money."

This revenue from the club can, of course, be encroached upon to meet expenditure, and this is often done. In case of necessity no objection can be raised, but it is wise to make a rigid rule which will make it impossible for this money to be expended until all other sources have been drained.

It will generally be found that a sale begins to flag after a few hours of brisk business. Some of the stalls become

emptied and unless some additional attractions are introduced business almost ceases. A new attraction in the evening will bring along new patrons whose attendance will also benefit the stalls yet open. An ordinary entertainment does not meet the case, as it is disastrous to have a song and a salesman in competition.

A People's Fair, however, can be run in conjunction with the remnants of the sale, to the advantage of both. At six o'clock the depleted stalls may be reduced by combining two or three into one. The work stall, reduced in size, will, with one or two others, remain open for business. In place of the stalls closed down will be erected hoop-la stall, dart gallery, and other games in close imitation to those found on fair grounds.

"The Fair" and Novelty Shows.

The preparation for these games is by no means difficult. Four games will usually occupy all the available space, and from six to twelve men can undertake the preparations, which should be completed ready for erection before the day of the sale. The assistance of a friendly joiner is a boon and will keep costs at a minimum, but there is nothing in the preparations which is beyond the skill of the average "handy man."

A suitable hoop-la stall, $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. by 8 ft. is made by obtaining two pieces of three-ply board each $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. by 4 ft. and fixing them on a frame made of light spars. If made in two sections to bolt firmly together it is handier for storage. Erect on a pair of trestles about 2 ft. high, and raise slightly at the rear. Cover with coloured papers for decoration. A six-inch hoop is recommended. R. Thomas & Co., Fair Stall Warehousemen, Harewood Street, Vicar Lane, Leeds, will supply the necessary two dozen hoops for about two shillings, and they will also supply prizes to furnish the stall. No selection of goods is allowed, but a £2 or £3 parcel will provide a wonderful assortment of prizes. Send cash with order and state size of hoop to be used. Each prize must be erected on a block $\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $4\frac{1}{4}$ ins. square, which will just allow the hoop to pass clearly over it; these may be made from waste pieces of board, obtainable from a joiner for a few coppers. Fifty or sixty of these are required. Do not grudge what may appear valuable prizes, as at three hoops for 2d. or five for 3d. a huge profit will result.

For a dart gallery the equipment required is a board of softish wood, $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. by 4 ft., or larger. Cover with strips of coloured papers, and fix several strips of narrow elastic cross-wise to hold the prizes. Small packets of cigarettes are the most attractive prize, but these are assisted by a much larger quantity of small decorative badges, obtainable from Thomas & Co. The board is erected against the wall, picture fashion, with a table underneath for the display of additional prizes. A screen down each side to give a finish to the gallery is advisable. Two dozen darts are made from rounded pegs about $\frac{3}{4}$ in. by 8 ins. with a thin sharp nail in one end and a balance "tail" of feather or cardboard at the other.

The Spirit Matters.

A bag and board game is made from a piece of stout board, 2 ft. by $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft., or larger. Five diamond-shape pieces are removed, one from near each corner and one in the centre. Bags loosely filled with sand or beans and just small enough to struggle through the holes are thrown from a distance of seven or eight yards, with the board erected in a leaning position against the wall. This game is popular, and at five bags for 2d., with a small prize for four and five "through," it is a money-maker.

Skittles is another game, and there are many others which can be improvised to complete a programme. Generally four or five are sufficient if a few guessing competitions, raffles, and a fortune-teller are to be included. Each game, with its equipment, should be ready to move into its place as soon as the stall closes down.

Those responsible for conducting the Fair must enter into the spirit of their new business by introducing all the arts and wiles of the fair ground. Chaff, good humour, an incitement to rivalry, all make for success and profit, and not the least profit accrues to the politician who puts aside his dignity to enter into the spirit of the Fair.

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PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

"The Case Against the 'National' Government." Foreword by Mr. George Lansbury. Price one penny. The Labour Party.

Last month we noticed the publication by the Labour Party of a pamphlet entitled "Trickery and Treachery" which was a slashing and popular attack on the record of the "National" Government.

Another presentation of the case is to be found in the pamphlet entitled as above and published this month at one penny. Condemnation is analytical, statistical, exhaustive and authoritative. The thinking person has only to read this pamphlet to be convinced of the Government's failure whether or no his faith has been shattered beforehand.

"An Easy Outline of Modern Socialism." By Herbert Morrison. Price twopence. The Labour Party.

A new edition of this popular pamphlet; an improved cover is substituted.

"A Nation Without Poverty." Being Labour's plans for organising a prosperous Britain. Price one penny. The Labour Party.

A penny pamphlet summarising Labour's proposals obviously has its limitations, for so much space is taken up with plain proposals that there can be little room for argument in support. The pamphlet meets the need of the man who wants to know in somewhat summary form what Labour proposes. The pamphlet, however, first makes sure that the reader understands present evils, and what it is that Labour sets out to remedy. That poverty can be abolished is the central theme.

"Trades Unionism — What Every Worker Should Know." By the late Arthur W. Petch. Price twopence. N.C.L.C. Publishing Society Ltd., 15, South Hill Park Gardens, N.W.3.

The proportion of new entrants who join the Trades Union Movement out of previous conviction is probably less than the proportion of convinced people joining the political Labour Movement. Mr. Petch set out in this pamphlet to put before

the ordinary reasonable person all that Trades Unionism stood for—to the reader and to others. Therefore this is a pamphlet for the education of the Trades Unionist and the attraction to Trades Unionism of others yet outside. Either field is big enough to give this pamphlet a tremendous sale. There has not been enough literature of the sort. 50 copies cost 6/8 post free.

"Mosley Fascism—The Man, His Policy and Methods." Price one penny. Labour Research Department, 60, Doughty Street, W.C.1.

It is just as well that we should have this little record of Sir Oswald Mosley, and also of his policy and methods. The pamphlet well reflects Sir Oswald as something many of us always suspected him to be. Certain quotations in the pamphlet are authoritative and helpful.

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